end games

The Challenge of Sustainability

contents

foreword

In recent years the Annie E. Casey Foundation has focused increasing attention on supporting efforts to create positive change in low-income neighborhoods and communities. These place-based efforts are central to our mission to build better futures for disadvantaged children and their families. We are not alone in this work—we join many philanthropic and public-sector funders that share our concerns and goals and that are work-ing, each in its own way, to make a difference. Most important, the local institutions and the people who live, work, and worship in those communities must do the really heavy lifting, day in and day out, if community-based efforts are to succeed.

Helping to transform conditions in troubled communities is not easy. As our president, Doug Nelson, has said: "While we are confident of our intended outcomes, there is no question that this [our Neighborhood Transformation/Family Development Initiative] will be the most difficult set of activities that the Casey Foundation has ever undertaken."

Yet, as difficult as it is to initiate positive change, getting it started is often easier than keeping it going. The "challenge of sustainability"—ensuring that the hard-won progress continues over time—is an important and sometimes daunting dimension of our work. Ensuring that change is sustainable means many things: that the values, ideas, and processes of the effort are widely shared and deeply felt; that important relationships are nurtured and remain strong; that policy and practice innovations are institutionalized and become the norm; and that needed financial and human resources are secured for the long term.

In *End Games: The Challenge of Sustainability,* Ira Cutler of the Cornerstone Consulting Group pulls together the thoughts and views of what he describes as "two dozen very smart people" and offers insights and suggestions to funders and communities. "There is a great deal more advice available to foundations and grantees about how to start a comprehensive community-based initiative than there is about how to successfully end one," he notes. We hope this report is the start of an impor-tant dialogue. We welcome your comments.

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1. introduction

Many national and local foundations that have launched ambitious community-based initiatives intended to improve conditions and outcomes for children, families, and communities have experienced, in one way or another, the "challenge of sustainability." This is the common difficulty that funders and their grantees face at the end of an initiative's planned funding period. It is then that funders often struggle to help community projects find and secure other resources and, in some cases, extend their support to ensure initiative progress and survival.

Sooner or later, however, every foundation must confront the inevitable:

> *The foundation either was the catalyst for an effort or the recent growth and development of the effort was supported by the foundation. How can we ensure that we continue to have an influence when our funding is no longer available?*

> *Having invested so much time, so many resources, and so much credibility, can we afford to simply walk away and let the initiative survive—or not?*

The same is true of those who receive the grants:

> *Having invested so much community energy in this important effort, where do we go now for the financial support the effort needs?*

> *How do we cultivate new investors and ensure that they feel long-term ownership for the initiative's success?*

In some cases, a good deal of personal and institutional strain and discomfort is felt at the end of initiatives. The cliché about seeing one's children grow up and leave home is not quite apt, but often there is a comparable sense of loss, a similar need to let go, and a strong desire to help make things work out well. Expectations are often difficult to manage at this close-out point, and long-standing relationships can become strained.

Foundations struggle with their side of the sustainability challenge, and so do the individuals and organizations involved in community projects, although they view the end-of-funding experience from a very different vantage point. For some, the expectation that funding will indeed end seems unbelievable until it is imminent. Others, some would say a minority, start to think about post-funding strategies very early on. But early or late, all face decisions about where to go for additional support and whether and how to redesign the project in a post-funding, post-demonstration-project world.

As funders increasingly seek to engage economically struggling neighborhoods in initiatives, issues of post-grant sustainability become even more complex and more important. In these initiatives, grantee organizations or coalitions often serve as lead agencies or fiscal agents that represent *community* efforts to address social problems. Consequently, the issues of initiative ownership and the responsibility for continuation become more complicated.

For some, the sustainability stakes are enormous. Grantee organizations in impoverished neighborhoods can become dependent on foundation initiative resources—either because they were created to manage the initiative or because they grew dramatically to take on the challenge—and sustainability could be about whether the organization survives. As initiatives that focus on

impoverished neighborhoods proliferate, the question has emerged of how to realistically assess the ability of neighborhood-based groups and agencies to replace initiative funding.

Throughout this difficult process, funders and community groups are faced with tough questions, not the least of which is determining what it is, really, that they hope to sustain. Is it the survival of the *organization* that has led the initiative that is paramount? Is the survival of core *ideas, relationships,* and the sense of *community direction* more important? Is all of it important?

Many note that the struggle to find new resources and uncertainty about continuation take a considerable toll during the last year or two of some initiatives—loss of momentum and the departure of key staff are noted—at a critical time when the initiative could finally be positioned to achieve the gains so long desired. As one observer put it, "in the out years of an initiative, the enthusiasm sometimes dissipates, and by the end, there is barely anything to hold onto."[1] Thus, the sustainability cloud, brought on by the question of whether the effort will be able to continue, can influence the success of the initiative itself.

No one we spoke with for this report suggested that all projects are worthy of endless support. To be sure, some, despite the best efforts of participants, fail miserably and should not be continued. In other instances, there are concrete tasks that can and should be completed within a reasonable period and then ended. The more difficult challenges lie in those cases where the job is *not* fully done, despite some credible measure of progress.

In this report, we write about how funders and grantees are thinking about sustainability and how best to support promising projects so that they do not simply fade away.

2. methodology

We reviewed the relevant literature and conducted interviews with selected foundation staff and grantees, some with direct experience in facing and managing a sustainability process. We hoped to gain an understanding of how those involved prepared for and implemented a transition away from the original funder and what they considered the process's relevant lessons.

We developed a list of preliminary questions to guide the inquiry, drawn from our own experience and from the literature:

- What responsibilities do funders have to ensure that projects are equipped to continue when funding ends?

- What are the sustainability expectations that funders and grantees should have as they approach an initiative?

- How does the design of the initiative—its duration, size, target issue—contribute to the ability of participants to sustain it?

- How do the sustainability issues vary in instances of multiple-site initiatives, as opposed to the funding of a single project or organization?

- How does the structure of initiative funding—required match, local funding partner, size of grant—influence ownership and post-initiative planning?

- How do the characteristics of the grantee or lead organization—size, maturity, capacity, structure—influence the initiative's continuation opportunities?

- How do the characteristics of the foundation—local, community, national—affect the sustainability challenge?

- Does the traditional model—a demonstration proves its worth and is then adopted by a new funder—still work and, if so, under what circumstances?

We believed it was necessary to limit the discussion by defining the "sustainability challenge" in a way that did not include the continuation of any and all foundation grants. As our discussions proceeded it became clear that, for most, the sustainability challenge of greatest concern was an artifact of a type of foundation-sponsored initiative, sometimes called the comprehensive community-based initiative, or CCI.

We also determined that it would be best for us not to stray into issues such as replication or "going to scale," with which sustainability is often paired. We focused instead on the challenge of "keeping it going," leaving questions of duplication and expansion for another time.

We found, generally, that the literature on sustainability is sparse and, with some notable exceptions mentioned here, not very helpful. There is a great deal more advice available to foundations and grantees about how to *start* a CCI than there is about how to successfully end one.

The key informant interviews, on the other hand, were extremely helpful. We had extended conversations with two dozen very smart people, whose experience encompassed dozens of initiatives and

projects. Most of our informants had been in the business for some time, and many had numerous associations with this issue: as funders, grantees, consultants, evaluators, or in various combinations of roles.

Our conversations often were wide-ranging. It is not hard to go from sustainability to evaluability and on to public policy trends. It was decidedly not a problem getting people to talk—we found a group generally eager to share experiences and views. They had lots of thoughts and opinions as well. The interviews were easy to begin: "What do you think about sustainability?" often was the only prompt needed.

The interviews left at least some participants wanting more. We were frequently asked to share the report—sometimes as soon as we could—and several suggested that more was needed. Presentations at foundation conferences, panels, and other forums were suggested. More than once we were encouraged to "tell the truth," suggesting that this issue is often given insufficient attention.

All of this suggests that the sustainability challenge is, indeed, a problematic and troubling side of grantmaking and an area about which many feel conflicted.

As we look back at the literature and the interviews, five prominent issue areas emerge:

- Differing perspectives on the role of foundations

- Questions of what "sustainability" means and what ought to be sustained

- Special problems of comprehensive community initiatives

- Foundation actions that bear on sustainability

- Suggestions for better ways to achieve sustainability

The discussion that follows will reflect on each of these areas.

3. perspectives on the role of foundations

If it cannot be sustained, how can it be important?

The sustainability challenge has many facets, but no theme was as prominent in our discussions as the role of foundations. One's views about foundation grantmaking—its purposes, how best to make effective grants, what grantmaking should achieve and for whom, whether foundations should primarily initiate projects or fund the ideas of others—tend to frame one's view of sustainability.

WHY DO GRANTMAKING?

Some foundations describe their role in terms of increasing knowledge. The primary utility of their initiatives is as demonstrations that can inform other organizations and communities interested in tackling the same or similar issues. Those foundations tend to view the learning process as leverage: After testing an approach in one community, or in five, they can tell the story and so help fifty or a hundred other communities. The difficulty, mentioned frequently in our interviews, is that the project the foundation sees as an opportunity for learning might also be seen by its participants as a valued addition to the community fabric. For them, the project does not end when the foundation has finished learning.

Some informants, however, strongly believe that even learning-oriented foundations need a viable exit strategy because "We never know if an experiment works if foundations don't get out." They suggested that "being able to stand alone is part of the test." As another interviewee put it, "Success [of a demonstration] implies sustainability, if not

replicability." In this view, the learning is not over until sustainability is fully explored, and success has not occurred unless sustainability is achieved.

In other interviews, some wondered why foundations, funded in most cases in perpetuity, do not themselves fund in perpetuity. One asked why, "if foundations are interested in sustaining their work, they feel it is essential to go on to the next thing." Others suggested that "the cycles of foundations get weary after a while … it is frustrating when they don't see it through to the end. Don't foundations have more of a responsibility to see it through than to worry about an exit strategy?"

Some asked why national foundations, which have in some instances helped to create endowments for community foundations, universities, and museums, do not use this approach regarding community-building projects in low-income communities. The counter-discussion, of course, is that foundations often feel a responsibility to provide broad support and so need to move on to help other, equally needy communities.

Some, including foundation staff and executives, were highly critical of foundations and spoke of the capacity of foundation-sponsored initiatives, especially those targeted to low-income communities, to do harm. Others saw at least some foundations starting things, taking grantees down roads that are consistent with the foundation's priorities rather than the community's priorities, and ultimately abandoning them. "The onus is on the funder to say up front how the effort can be funded over the long term or, at least, if they don't know, to say that."

Many described foundations in ways that suggest a lack of discipline in grantmaking, a fickleness about issues. Others saw ivory tower arrogance and a lack of understanding about what it takes to get things to work in the real world. Several expressed the view that the best chance community initiatives have for stable, long-term funding is through the public sector, but that many foundation staff lack a sophisticated understanding of government and of government funding processes.

The suggestions of too-short or incomplete support came frequently from those who see great value in collaborative, system advocacy efforts and believe they should be a *permanent* part of the community, not a temporary structure tied to a discrete project. (The difficulty many experience in gaining local funding for these efforts is discussed later.)

FOUNDATION RESPONSIBILITIES

For many, the responsibility for ensuring continuation of an effort hinges on the extent to which a foundation is the initiator or designer or is responding to a community's proposal. Most agreed that the more active a foundation is in developing and sponsoring an initiative, the greater its responsibility to ensure that sustaining resources are secured. As one informant expressed it, "It is important to know who asked whom to the dance."

Most informants tended to see foundations as insufficiently aggressive in helping communities gain the resources needed to continue foundation-initiated projects. "The responsibility rests more with funders than some would accept . . . if for no other reason than that they are more able to open the doors that lead to sustainability, are better able to carry the water." Another said, "Foundations are self-serving about sustainability—what did the foundation get out of it rather than what did the site get out of it." Some accused foundations of engaging in "drive-by philanthropy."

Many suggested that the sustainability process often is flawed from the start—not discussed early enough and without clear expectations and delineated responsibilities. "The foundation should develop a plan, a quid pro quo—'If you help us test this model, what do you need to do it, and what can we do for your organization so that it will end well for you?'—and then engage in resource development, board development, etc."

Also mentioned was "a fiction about how things will be sustained that is driven by unrealistic board expectations and staff who play along in order to get an idea funded. They suggest to their boards, 'Don't worry, somebody else will pick it up later and get us off the hook,' even when they have no idea how that will happen."

One informant suggested that "the issue of sustainability is very different for different foundations and really depends on how the foundation perceives its grantmaking. If it is 'movement building,' or a 'social change agenda,' the foundation has to play a much more active role in helping grantees think about sustaining the work and get them to think about it up front . . . even use its resources to be intentional about sustainability. If it is more practice, program, or direct-service oriented, it can play a less active role and focus more on more traditional strategies of dissemination, replication, and development of products."

There was also a feeling that "some foundations go too far and get too involved to allow for local ownership to emerge." Others suggested that it is "important that projects are not seen as the creature of any one foundation. While many foundations are interested in creating a niche or making a mark, it doesn't help the organizations they are funding if the initiative is too closely associated with one foundation, whether local or national. It is simply too hard to get others to support on the back end when the initiative has been owned and managed by someone else." Commenting on the

difficulty inherent in finding a successor funder, one foundation executive noted that "everybody likes to exert leverage but nobody likes to *be* leveraged."

One common form of leveraging has national funders reaching out to form partnerships with community foundations for local projects. Frequently, the invitation contains an implied or explicit sustainability strategy. Some community foundations are wary of this, and they enter partnerships cautiously. "The national foundations know that we will still be there and that it is virtually impossible for a community foundation to pull out of a place-based initiative." "Our entrance," one informant noted, "is their exit strategy."

Several participants noted that the issues of sustainability are different for community foundations and local or regional foundations. "We can move on to a different approach, but we can't go on to the next town. For local funders the project name and strategy may change, but the end of the initiative does not mean the end of the relationship." Local foundations more often continue to nurture their relationships with community groups, and, although a grant might end, the continuing recognition of community leadership by the foundation is itself a valuable asset.

Finally, the issue of capacity building came up again and again. One suggestion was that, "whatever else, these efforts should always leave increased capacity in their wake." Some suggested that community efforts need technical assistance, early and continuously, to prepare for funding transitions and to effectively identify and secure alternative resources. "If [foundations] want to see a program *endure,* much less replicate and build to scale, investments in nonprofit capacity-building are essential."[2] Yet, as Pru Brown notes, "The challenge of developing organizations at the same time that they develop neighborhoods raises questions."[3]

In reviewing the Ford Foundation's Neighborhood and Family Initiative, evaluators noted that sustainability—"ensuring long-term support and building long-term capacity to engage in an ongoing process of community development"[4]—was a concern of initiative participants from the beginning, although there was never consensus about how to accomplish it. Furthermore, they note,

> *In the area of leveraging financial resources, the collaboratives lack experience and have limited knowledge of resources available and ways to connect to them. Collaboratives in many cases lack the expertise and staff to successfully leverage financial resources, or they lack the time and resources to focus on this issue. Some of the sites have dealt with this situation by extending the period of the final Ford grant. . . . Most outside funding has been restricted to support for particular programs, creating the tension between the facilitating role of the collaboratives and the more direct implementation role that generates program dollars.*[4]

Several informants suggested that technical assistance is helpful, but they wondered whether alternative support was likely, no matter how savvy the community grantees. In this latter view, the call for "capacity-building efforts" seems like unfairly blaming communities for being unable to raise money to continue the foundation-designed initiative. Gus Newport of the Urban Strategies Council suggests that "thinking about sustainability is not so much a skill as it is having time enough to get it planned and done up front. Timing and thinking about sustainability and funding need to happen early on, and yet funders see this as a later stage issue. They give lip service, but it doesn't go much beyond that."[5]

The tone of our discussions was that foundations too often fail to do enough, early enough, to ensure sustainability. One question, "Who should be responsible for sustainability?" often raised another: "What should be sustained?"

4. sustaining what?

*Whenever anyone says it
is not about the money,
it is about the money.*

Our interviews and discussions revealed a fairly wide range of views about *what* should be sustained. The quote above, often attributed to H.L. Mencken, has echoes in some informants' strongly expressed view that finding new money to replace a foundation grant is only one part of the sustainability challenge.

Our interviews suggested that several aspects of an original effort might be candidates for sustainability:

■ Several interviewees spoke of the importance of continuing and strengthening the *thinking* behind the initiative—making sure that the initiative's central ideas and beliefs are firmly in place over time and are not compromised or blurred. Some spoke of sustainability in terms of making sure that the core ideas—collaboration, prevention, equal opportunity—are assimilated into the thinking of individuals and the practices of organizations.

■ In some instances informants suggested that relationships built or strengthened could be the most valuable products of a collaborative initiative. The important outcome is maintaining these connections among people and institutions, whether the initiative goes forward or not.

■ In most instances the projects under discussion were managed by a lead agency or staffed coalition. This central management and leadership entity, and the key personnel they require, constitute much of the core costs associated with continuing an initiative. They often are seen as the element within the initiative that should be sustained.

■ Many of the efforts discussed have an identity and a set of goals above and beyond those of individual participants. The sustainability challenge frequently involves not just keeping participants active but ensuring that the heart of the effort—its goals, strategies, and commitment—remains intact.

Communities and project leaders struggle mightily with the question of which among these—if not all —to sustain in an initiative. Several informants said the less tangible aspects—ideas and relationships —really were the most valuable. "Institutionalize the principles," one said, "not the projects." Other voices expressed similar views:

> *Sustainability is not just about money. It is about the ideas. If the ideas get sustained in [one] place and then are carried out in other places, that is perhaps the most powerful impact investments can make. The question is, Do the ideas survive as part of the on-going fabric of the community?*

> *Sustainability can happen more easily when the foundation funds ideas, not projects.*

> *It is important that sustainability efforts are not seen as trying to perpetuate the organization.*

Still other informants spoke of the long-term effect of community-building efforts on individual participants, noting changes in thinking and the influence of projects on the participants' career development *after* the project ends. Many spoke of the increase in capacity that foundation-sponsored

initiatives can elicit—more sophisticated management of resource development, greater community participation, improved grant writing—and about the importance of sustaining those gains.

Yet, although some informants stressed the importance of sustaining ideas, capacity, and relationships, many more focused on what one called "The Jerry Maguire Question": "Show me the money."

The report on the Neighborhood and Family Initiative concludes, "sustainability depends on leaving behind an organization capable of carrying on the work."[4] This view, echoed often in our interviews, suggests that it might be an impractical, sentimental notion to expect "the ideas" to flourish without an institutional home and a dedicated staff. "There is often a lack of support for the coordinating function, for keeping the conversation alive and moving," said one informant. The absence of this support, most believe, eventually will result in the end of the conversation.

Finally, in several discussions it was noted that "not everything is worth protecting." Some initiatives simply do not work out. Others have done well but have accomplished all that they are likely to accomplish. It was often noted as well that "a commitment to sustainability should be linked to known outcomes, benchmarks." One informant suggested, "We need clear ways to make that call and more practice at graceful, nonblaming exits." Another suggested that it was important, when choosing *not* to continue an initiative, to find ways to afford the project "death with dignity."

It was noted, however, that some initiative participants engage in sustainability for its own sake—as a way of protecting organizations and staff: "There are no golden parachutes at this level." Perhaps more thoroughly planned endings should mirror factory closings—severance pay, outplacement services, and the like.

5. the particular sustainability problems of comprehensive community intiatives

Who wants to buy a used collaborative?

Most of the discussions that led to this report were concerned with comprehensive community-based initiatives (CCIs), placed-based projects intended to solve health or social problems. Most often they are foundation-sponsored, multiple-site efforts, established for a fixed period, supported by a fixed amount of money, and following a foundation-defined strategy. These initiatives typically bring people and institutions together to plan and solve problems. They are integrative, capacity building, and community building. The issues and target areas vary from one funder and initiative to the next, but they often have essential strategies in common.

In their 1999 report, Weiss and Lopez conclude that many foundations emphasize "larger, longer, multi-component, often place based, and community-driven initiatives designed to achieve more impact and more learning to improve outcomes for children and youth." Many were "moving away from categorical to more holistic and comprehensive approaches in grantmaking … and de-emphasizing state level and moving towards local and neighborhood [grantmaking]."[6]

The authors found that a common thread in these initiatives, although not often clearly articulated, was a theory of change that suggested the following:

(a) Simultaneous and multicomponent strategies, aimed at public will and engagement; field development; and planning, demonstration, and research would

(b) so alter the operating environment that there would be changes in capacity, demand, and conditions that would influence policy, infrastructure, and practice and that would in turn

(c) result in scaled-up policies and programs that would

(d) produce better outcomes for children and youth.

Yet many in our discussions agreed with one informant, "The things that everyone says you need to build to have a strong, community-led effort—will, collaboration, data, strategic planning, grassroots support, organizational and individual capacity—are often the things that nobody wants to fund." Nearly everyone said that "process money" is the hardest to get. "Everybody knows those things—the collaborative, community-mobilizing activities—are needed on a continual basis, but nobody wants to fund it after the first time through."

The common view is that, after a time, a community-driven effort should show enough promise or have made enough progress to attract new funders. Ultimately, the original sponsoring foundation can withdraw or greatly lessen its support, and the effort will continue.

This simple model—design, demonstrate, evaluate, disseminate, and wait for large-scale public and private funding to underwrite continued operation or even expansion—is the "sustainability theory" behind most community-based initiatives. Many people believe that the model does not work, at least not in the short term. Others believe the model is fine if the product under consideration is a direct

service. Coordinating, community-building, or collaborative efforts are another problem altogether.

Many informants told us that, after an original grant ends, community initiatives often face difficult choices, borne of what is frequently described as the product–process tension:

> *The product–process tension involves the need to show results relatively early to gain and sustain support and the need to develop the capacity of individuals and institutions, a long process that often takes years to show results. The second tension involves the need for CCIs to be locally driven, locally controlled efforts while they are initiated, supported, guided, monitored, and evaluated by people and institutions outside the neighborhood. This tension is about power, legitimacy, accountability, representation, and respect.*[7]

One informant said, "Funders fail to see the purpose for the whole, while liking the parts, and offer to support the product of the collaboration but not the collaboration itself." Another suggested that "Nobody wants to pay for operational support (or indirect costs) or for staff. Some have exaggerated expectations of volunteers. This imperils the future of the effort. Many fail to recognize the importance of an outside objective entity—these efforts lose something when they become a part of an agency. Some of the components may live on, some strategies live on, but the joint objectives get lost and the effort degrades to discrete projects, and there is a loss of community voice if the collaborative is broken up."

Thus, for many community-based initiatives the sustainability challenge is not just about replacing the original foundation money. It is about replacing the money with *like* money, with flexible resources that will allow the continuation of collaborative, community-building processes, such as staffing the initiative, community planning,

training and capacity building, providing seed money for new projects, and bringing activities and institutions together. One informant, who had long experience both as a grant recipient and as a funder, said, "There is very little money around that gives you the freedom to act on *your* priorities —replacing a flexible grant dollar for dollar, *but with strings,* is not the same thing."

Many respondents said that a lack of support for the original coordinating role can send the organization or initiative after inappropriate money, leading it to become a service provider to stay alive and putting itself into competition with agencies represented in the collaborative. Said one, "Given stable core funding, you are able to be choosy, and not move away from your mission. But if not, if it's soft money or no money, you do what you have to do."

Some informants said they worry about the effect of second-round funding from local entities—the city, county, or schools—on system-change-oriented initiatives. Those efforts can be compromised by funding from the most likely target of their reform proposals.

For those who believe that local or neighborhood efforts should be a part of a community's permanent infrastructure, not just tied to a discrete project, the struggle for flexible funding is extremely frustrating. They see a value in not having to invent new collaboratives with each new issue and grant, but they see the funding community— foundations and government alike—continuing the practice of requiring new governing bodies, steering committees, and similar mechanisms with each new project or initiative.

These collaboratives are seen as an important *permanent* part of community infrastructure, serving several functions, including acting as a bridge between dis-empowered local residents and

the power structure. Many believe that the notion that those bodies are needed only for the short term is unrealistic: "At least until systems become more responsive we are going to need these mechanisms to assure consumer voice; there is no end imaginable, so why pretend?"

Several informants indicated that sustaining one site in a national initiative is a more complex undertaking. Said one, "It is not home grown, local pride doesn't demand keeping on, and ownership may be divided." Another said that although "nationals hope that locals will pick up ongoing costs, community foundations and United Ways are moving away from core support, towards in-and-out projects and outcome-based strategies." Some agree that "increased funder demands for quantitative results [are] working against efforts to strengthen civic infrastructure."

For all the difficulties, however, some community-based projects do manage both to retain support from their original funders and to cultivate new supporters—and all without losing their central vision. Some efforts, borne of a single initiative, get beyond their first use to serve as a platform for other efforts, but such success is rare.

How do the few succeed?

Informants spoke of strong leadership, careful planning, and the luck of being in the right place at the right time. Some believe that a carefully constructed evaluation, designed to show continuing progress, is important.

Finally, others pointed to informal and formal political processes. One said, "There is tremendous turnover among key players and local funders, and you have to court the new ones coming in." In the words of one unusually successful community leader who has used numerous grants to leverage ongoing support, "The work is 'relationship intensive' and working with community leaders is key to [gaining and] maintaining commitments."

6. foundation approaches

Several of our interviews revealed developments in foundation approaches and thinking that bear on the subject of sustainability. What follows is in no way intended to represent the full story of efforts by these foundations—curious readers are advised to go to the foundations' written materials and websites for additional information. Rather, we wanted to capture the essential elements in these ideas and to explore their relationship to meeting the sustainability challenge.

TOWARD CORE SUPPORT OR INSTITUTION BUILDING

In preparing a recent report to the Aspen Institute Roundtable on Comprehensive Community Initiatives, Ralph Hamilton and Miriam Shark interviewed 24 persons familiar with the field to "learn their views about comprehensive community change and the [roundtable's] place in it."[8] According to the authors, their respondents felt that support for the creation and implementation of comprehensive community initiatives might be waning: "A fair number believe that the CCI structure (as we know it today) was limited by its complexity and its many unresolved challenges."[8]

We found other evidence for this trend: Some major funders—most notably the Edna McConnell Clark Foundation and the California Wellness Foundation—have stated their intention to increase long-term support for organizations, rather than for foundation-sponsored initiatives, as a primary grantmaking focus.

Clark is "looking for good organizations with good products and good leadership, that are equipped for growth, and is intending to fund them."[9] But its approach will not be passive:

By some reckonings, foundations would do better to take a step back and simply provide their grantees the unrestricted core support necessary to buy or hire the help they need. The theory, often quite persuasive, is that the weakness of grantee organizations and fields isn't due to a lack of talent to strengthen them. The weakness is a natural, almost mathematical result of restricted revenue streams that can't be spent on the overhead and long-term investments that sound organizational growth requires.[9]

The Clark Foundation, however, will work jointly with its grant recipients to establish milestones, performance measures, and a business plan: "We don't content ourselves with simply admiring and supporting the good work they already do." Instead, Clark expects to work closely with selected organizations and to "make full use, for example, of the business planning, outcome measurement, self-evaluation, quality management, and staff-development tools that have proven valuable in other arenas."[9]

In its *1999 Annual Report,* the California Wellness Foundation (TCWF) states that although it has been "known for its highly structured, project-driven initiative grantmaking [it has] made a decision over the last few years to increase its core operating dollars to nonprofit organizations that are improving the health of Californians."[10] In large part, this shift came as a result of feedback from grantees who "describe the stress they regularly experience in attempting to mold their institutions into different shapes in order to secure funding—sculpting themselves for that moment into what they perceive the funder wants them to be. We recognize that our Foundation has inadvertently been part of this dynamic. Which

may actually weaken the very organizations we are hoping to support."[10]

TCWF is careful to indicate that it is not intending to portray initiative grantmaking as negative and that it remains committed to its existing initiatives. Its goal, however, is to achieve a *balance* between proactive and responsive grantmaking.

The shifts in grantmaking strategy at these and other foundations have tremendous implications for sustainability. In contrast to the focus in initiative funding, this new style of grantmaking places paramount importance on the health, well-being, and continuing viability of the organizations receiving support, from the first. They will not be funded to test a model or to participate in a process, but rather to do what they do.

SPIN-OFFS

In several instances, foundations faced with the sustainability challenge have developed what might be called spin-off mechanisms to move the initiative away from the original sponsoring foundation and prepare it for independent existence.

For example, since 1993, the Sierra Health Foundation, which serves 26 northern California counties, has funded the Community Partnerships for Healthy Children Initiative (CPHC) in 21 sites. In CPHC, local collaboratives "identified the most prevalent health issues facing children in their communities and developed strategies to positively impact them."[11]

Now in the eighth year of a ten-year, $20 million mobilization effort, Sierra's exit strategy is to create a free-standing health council to support a network of sites. Each community effort ultimately will become responsible for raising its own support, although Sierra sees the value of having an overall structure to sustain the initiative. The grant recipients will continue to share ideas, and they will benefit from being part of the larger whole.

The new entity will focus on changing health indicators, continuing initiative identification, and cross-site communication, and it will have a technical assistance capacity. The hope is that because the sites are at arm's length from the initial funder they will be likely to garner more diverse financial support, and the network will develop the capacity to secure grant funds from sources other than Sierra.

This spin-off plan is one in a series of careful steps Sierra has taken to back away from the center of the initiative, as local capacity has been built. Early on, the foundation was directly involved in operations, and the foundation's staff members were visible and active on-site. Later, the foundation moved to the use of a technical assistance intermediary, the Center for Collaborative Planning. Each step is intended to strengthen the capacity and independence of the local grantee organizations.

Sierra's actions mirror those of the Colorado Trust, which created the Colorado Center for Healthy Communities, "the coordinating and policy arm of a statewide coalition of 15 local healthy community initiatives," as an outgrowth of its Colorado Healthy Communities Initiative. Recently, the James Irvine Foundation, in another example of a spin-off exit strategy, created and funded the California Center for Regional Leadership, which will carry on and expand work done at Irvine as part of its Sustainable Communities program.

In each example here, the original sponsoring organization believed there was a continuing need for what it had started, and it took great pains to position the initiative for survival but without having to change its core mission or strategy.

ENDOWMENTS

Although not common, foundation support some-times takes the form of an endowment that, from the start, begins to position grantees for sustain-ability. The John M. and James L. McKnight Foundation's Minnesota Initiative established community foundations in six rural areas to organize, promote, and fund economic and community development projects. A series of incentives and challenge grants, culminating in a self-perpetuating endowment for each region, was used to raise the needed funds. McKnight paid for core organizational support, but program dollars always came from other resources, with McKnight's encouragement. Government economic develop-ment resources have been a major source of funds.

Having created these independent organizations, McKnight now has an "opportunity relationship" with them—the foundation will collaborate on projects when warranted, but the grantees' survival is not predicated on McKnight support.

It is too soon to be certain, but it could be that the creation of endowments will fit well with the emergence of what has been dubbed "the new philanthropy" or "venture philanthropy." In most definitions, this form of philanthropy stresses long-term investment in key organizations. An endowment that generates core operating funds is the dream of every organization and initiative now struggling endlessly to get the funds needed to continue work. Endowments are commonplace in some parts of the nonprofit world—the arts, museums, schools, universities—but they have been nearly nonexistent in the human services and community development sectors.

7. achieving sustainability: suggestions from the field

They have to know the end game. It's more important as initiatives get bigger, longer, have more impact on organizations and then are harder to back off of and live without.

Nearly every informant had ideas about how foundations might change current practices to sustain worthy efforts. These often came in the form of general rules or approaches tempered by the caveat that each initiative and situation is in some way unique. Here we describe some of the many suggestions made in our interviews and in the literature.

TWELVE SUGGESTIONS

1. Take sustainability more seriously

Several informants said that foundations simply do not treat sustainability as seriously as they should. Several suggested that foundations should not make grants without a clear idea about how continuation will be achieved. Others suggested that funds should be expressly devoted to fundraising, public relations, documentation, and other activities intended to ensure replacement funding.

One informant spoke of the important consequences, locally and in the field, when an influential foundation changes priorities or ends a prominent grant: "Some foundations stay with an idea for years, even decades. You have to be careful when you are that associated with an idea or project that

you don't send the wrong signal when funding is over. You have to leave an area or theme in a responsible way, taking care you don't do damage to institutions or ideas."

Some suggest that "If [foundations] don't have some clear idea of who would pick up [an initiative] and why, don't take or give the money—take seriously that section they let grantees write as fiction in which they say how they would sustain the project."

The consensus was that greater visibility of the sustainability challenge is warranted.

2. Start earlier

A focus on sustainability should come earlier, and many we interviewed said this should be part of the original design of the initiative. Several suggested that sustainability plans should be included in original funding applications.

We found one foundation, the Health Foundation of Central Massachusetts (HFCM), that actually raises the sustainability question from the very first moment of the application process. HFCM's process is called results-oriented grantmaking and grant implementation.[12] Prospective grant recipients answer 10 accountability questions at the time of application. The final question addresses sustainability: "If the program is successful, how will it be sustained?" The appropriateness of the plan for dealing with the eventual phasing out of funding becomes part of the criteria for providing support. Many foundations talk about the value of focusing on sustainability from the outset, but this is the only process we found in which making a grant is *conditioned* on sustainability.

We agree with those who see the foundation as carrying a large part of the responsibility for sustainability, but grantees would be wise not to expect the sponsoring foundation to ensure their future. "Participants should plan early for the phasing out of funding and the eventual sustainability of the organization with technical assistance in fundraising, support for concerted advocacy work, and a period of phase-down funding."[13]

3. Stay longer

Fifteen years ago a foundation commitment of five years was almost unheard of. The new consensus is that five years is not nearly enough. Again and again in our interviews, 10 years—or longer—was suggested as the "right" amount of time in which to think about creating a strong community vehicle to address health, social, educational, and other community problems. "There are false assumptions about duration—big differences take a long time; things are hard to change."

When the process is expected to continue for at least a decade, the sustainability issues shift somewhat. Can the sponsoring foundation wait 10 years to begin moving its funds elsewhere? Should the effort to bring in other funders begin earlier, before the community entity is fully matured? When do you know whether the effort is worth sustaining?

4. Be more explicit about foundation and grantee commitments

In looking broadly at CCIs, Pru Brown and her colleagues found that foundation–CCI relationships "often include a lack of understanding and trust, dishonest communication, and struggles over power and accountability, and these difficulties in the relationship often undermine the principles and objectives of the CCIs."[14] Those

problems are not unique to the foundation–CCI relationship, but the authors maintain that "the vision and structure of CCIs makes certain tensions with funders worse. Foundations . . . need to make institutional commitments to [CCIs]. Because of their long-term time frame, CCIs are at risk from changes in foundation staff and priority areas or less drastically, from neglect or revised expectations and the like."[14]

Nowhere is the lack of explicitness more noticeable than in considering issues of sustainability. For many initiatives, it is not discussed at all, except in the broadest of terms. This leaves far too much room for misunderstanding and resentment to develop. Most informants thought that foundations should say, up front, what grant recipients should expect at the end of the planned funding period.

5. Set clear and realistic expectations

Some of our informants said that some foundations have unrealistic expectations for their initiatives, particularly when working at the neighborhood level. The roles identified for community projects—convener, planner, data developer, vision keeper—are realistic for well-funded citywide or county-wide projects. But how often can initiatives gather the talent they need to do those jobs at the neighborhood level? The result is that foundations often are disappointed with the progress of the initiative, which can, in turn, influence their commitment to continue funding it.

Others noted a predictable lack of productivity when an initiative is in its ending stage—a time of losing staff, depression, a search for funds, efforts to figure out how or whether to phase down. Foundations should expect this and plan for it, for example, by making funds available for fundraising so that key staff members need not divert their energies toward these tasks.

Finally, several informants noted the frequent practice of granting extensions, creating additional phases of support, and otherwise making the date on which support will end less than certain. Foundations intend to be helpful, but these changes in expectations can have the unintended consequence of slowing local action either to gain replacement resources or to begin a process of shutting down.

6. Build capacity

Many informants suggested that foundations should devote a specific portion of funding to sustainability, as they now often do for evaluation and technical assistance. Sustainability expenditures would include fundraising activities, consultation on available public and private resources, grant-writing assistance, and other assistance intended to increase the capacity of the organization or effort to continue after the original grant runs out.

One informant suggested that the final year or two of an initiative should be explicitly devoted to such activities as "model strengthening" and helping grantees position themselves for funding from other sources.

7. Reduce foundation identification

As noted earlier, many believe that a too-close identification with a single funder can thwart efforts to generate new resources. Our informants suggested that foundations "let go" and diminish their time in the spotlight in favor of grantees. One informant spoke of the importance of "strengthening the intermediary organizations associated with an initiative, as a way of keeping the foundation from getting too close."

8. Document and evaluate as marketing tools

Most informants agreed that "evaluation is important—a good one gives a project a fighting chance for sustainability; we owe them that chance." Furthermore, many suggested it is important to construct evaluations that produce data and reports that are usable, locally, as tools to explain the initiative's mission and successes and to serve as marketing tools to garner further support. "We need to get better at identifying and putting a spotlight on interim outcomes and at setting a baseline on social capital. We need to describe outreach and mobilization as important products and stress the importance of training trainers and broadening local participation and skills."

Several complained in our interviews of an imbalance in some initiatives toward very costly evaluations: "We are spending more money to evaluate than to *do*." Some suggest that evaluations are too often geared to meeting the needs of funders, instead of focusing on the later fundraising needs of grantees.

9. The funding structure can help or hurt

Many interviewees had thought about the structure of grants and the subsequent influence of grant structure on sustainability. One warned of the danger of "too high a level [of funding] to realistically expect continuation." Size matters, we were told: "Larger grants are harder, if not impossible to replace, while grants that are too small don't provide the juice to do much."

Requiring matching funds was seen as a mixed blessing—an opportunity or a burden. It is difficult to find the initial match, but those who do so often can count on continued support when the primary funder has gone.

Some interviewees criticized the "funder belief that the next round of an initiative wouldn't take as long or cost as much because of what was learned first time around. The fear is that we learn things and then put them out there in ways that other

communities can't use, because we provide little or no money to carry out a replication."

Some said that descending funding from the start could help, as a way of making clear that a project eventually will need to find alternative resources.

10. *Actively* pursue the resources needed to ensure sustainability

Many informants view foundations as standing back and allowing grantees to find their own replacement resources. They would encourage foundations to take a more active role, suggesting that foundations reach out to other funders on behalf of a site, jointly develop an exit strategy, open doors that might not be accessible to grantees, and help grant recipients to identify and pursue alternative resources.

11. Be more intentional about public funding

Several informants stated that they saw public funding as the best chance community initiatives have for stable, long-term funding. "Most foundation staff lack a sophisticated understanding of government and of governmental funding processes," said one. "They have unrealistic expectations about the public sector—don't understand what's doable, what the funding streams are—[and they] send grantees on wild goose chases."

Sometimes foundations overlook public funding because of preconceptions. "Skipping over counties and cities and directly funding neighborhoods cuts off the most likely pick-up funders, and largely foundations are leaving them out as a result of biases—neighborhood-good, city-hall-bad—that are self-defeating." Yet these funders, especially at the local level, are most likely to understand the underlying assumptions of the initiative. "More than others," one informant noted, "local

government 'gets' place-based strategies—it already thinks in terms of neighborhoods, parts of town, towns in counties, [and it might] be more open to ongoing need as community-strengthening tool than as issue specific."

In other cases, foundations fail to recognize the potential of large initiatives to attract public funds. Foundations "create far greater incentives for focusing upon their own grants than the much larger amounts of funding 'beneath the surface' and already in the community. Why let state and local government off the hook?" Several informants suggested securing investments of public money earlier and and for longer periods, perhaps by tying the foundation-sponsored effort to the "big efforts [Proposition 10, EZ, CDBG] that have a requirement for some of the pieces of what we are looking for—civic engagement, planning, glue, technical assistance, evaluation, etc. Instead of a little of that with each new program/grant it would help to *carve out* and bundle those components and to institutionalize and legitimize their ongoing importance."

12. Rethink grantmaking

Finally, some ideas emerged from the discussions that seemed outside the box—suggestions of new ways to think about grantmaking. For example, one respondent suggested that foundations might do well to invest only in efforts started by others: "Don't be the first funder—it has excessive risks. Instead, purposely be the second funder and buy only proven entities." Another suggested it "might help to make public policy more a permanent part of the agenda, as a way to increase the likelihood that these kinds of things (community-level coordinating bodies) have an ongoing funding stream." In other words, if foundations believe in these processes and see over and over again that there are

insufficient or no resources to sustain them, the obvious course is to attempt, perhaps at a national level, to create solid, ongoing funding mechanisms.

One informant would encourage foundation staff to "collaborate internally—as a way to increase opportunities for future support." In this way today's housing promotion collaborative might focus on public safety or child care in the future— the pick-up funder might be a few offices away.

8. developing a "theory of sustainability"

In recent years the practice of constructing a "theory of change" or "logic model" to describe the sequence of events that lead an effort to success has become standard procedure in designing, carrying out, and evaluating complex projects. The Kellogg Foundation's *Evaluation Handbook* says in part: "One effective method for charting progress toward interim and long-term outcomes is through the development and use of a program logic model. . . . [T]here is a value in the *process of developing a logic model.* This process is an iterative one that requires stakeholders to work together to clarify the underlying rationale for the program and the conditions under which success is most likely to be achieved. . . . The clarity of thinking that occurs from the process of building the model becomes an important part of the overall success of the program."[15]

We suggest that an equally important companion tool—a "theory of sustainability"—should be used as well. Such a tool would ensure that the sustainability challenge is considered and explicitly addressed by foundations and grant recipients from the beginning. Using a theory of sustainability foundations sponsoring an initiative can:

- State whether there is an expectation that the effort will be continued after foundation funds end;

- Propose a generalized theory of sustainability for the initiative;

- Require a *localized* sustainability plan from applicant sites;

- Aid potential grant applicants in tailoring the model to local circumstances and, ultimately;

- Participate in bringing the sustainability plan to a successful conclusion.

This recommendation echoes an earlier suggestion by Sid Gardner and colleagues in a 1997 report to the Aspen Roundtable: "We believe that a separate emphasis upon a 'theory of resources' approach should be included in the theory of change process because the issue of resources is often treated inadequately or left implicit in developing comprehensive initiatives."[16]

CRITICAL SUSTAINABILITY QUESTIONS

The sustainability tool itself need not be elaborate, and the questions below are not, but they could be used as a starting point. Along with other questions specific to the initiative, designers and applicants would answer these questions to describe a process of gaining support that can identify a logical series of steps to be taken:

- Assuming acceptable results, and assuming that the task will not be fully completed at the end of the grant period, is it expected that this initiative will continue beyond the period for which funding is available?

- If so, what level of financial and other resources will be needed to continue?

- What capacity-building measures are needed to make this initiative sustainable, and how will those measures be implemented?

- What is it about this initiative that is likely to attract interest and elicit support? (Hint: If this project is "successful," whose problems would it help alleviate, whose mission would be advanced, who would have a vested interest in seeing it continue?)

- Who are the most likely future funders? (Be specific. If government, what level of government, what agency, what funding stream? If private, which foundation or other source?)

- Is there a history of this entity supporting efforts (a) of this sort and (b) of this size?

- Would success in this effort obviate the need to spend resources on something else, and could that money be diverted to this effort? How?

- Who within the anticipated funding organization would have to decide to fund, through what processes?

A sustainability plan for a neighborhood anticrime effort might look like this:

SUSTAINING A COMMUNITY ACTION PLAN FOR SAFER STREETS

ACTIVITIES

- Secure staff
- Organize the community
- Create interagency coalition
- Hold block meetings
- Create a neighborhood watch program
- Establish baseline crime data
- Improve communication with community police
- Create after-school and evening programming
- Establish communications with substance abuse treatment center for outreach programming

INTERIM BENCHMARKS

- Increased community awareness, involvement
- Improved coordination with police and treatment resources

OUTCOMES

- Lower crime rate
- Increased community capacity to solve problems
- Improved optimism about the future of the community

SUSTAINING THE EFFORT

Given the goals and approaches outlined, the most likely funding sources for continuation in City X are:
- City CDBG
- United Way
- Police department
- Community foundation

SUSTAINABILITY PLAN: TIMELINE

- January: Meet with representatives of likely funding sources; establish clear understanding about initiative needs and funder processes
- March: Make CDBG application
- Quarterly: Invite representatives to block meetings
    Send data reports and follow up
    Gear public relations plan to the need for continuation

In our view—and many of those we interviewed agreed—if the sponsors and designers *cannot* present a convincing theory of sustainability, an outlined version that will work across communities, then serious questions should be raised about the efficacy of the initiative. Furthermore, we suggest that a serious attempt at outlining a theory of sustainability, at the beginning of an initiative, will beg both further questions and further actions. Specifically, we see no reason why, if you can name the most likely successor funders, you cannot talk to them now. That conversation can be extremely enlightening, we believe, if it focuses on concrete questions, like these:

- Does the potential successor funder agree that it should be seen in this way?

- Under what conditions does it believe future funding is most likely?

- What achievements by the initiative would most likely lead to future support?

- What is the most likely source of that support; what funding stream, department, pot of money would most likely be tapped?

- What might be a reasonable expectation of the duration of support?

This kind of process, what might be called a "cards on the table" pretest of a sustainability theory, could be of tremendous advantage to funders and grantees alike.

key informants

Cindy Ballard, Coalition of Community Foundations for Youth

Mike Bailin, Edna McConnell Clark Foundation

Carol Berde, McKnight Foundation

Nick Bollman, California Center for Regional Leadership

Linda Bowen, National Funding Collaborative on Violence

Pru Brown, Chapin Hall Center for Children at the University of Chicago

Elizabeth Burke Bryant, Rhode Island KIDS COUNT

Judy Chynoweth, Foundation Consortium

Tom David, California Wellness Foundation

Sid Gardner, Center for Collaboration for Children

Robert Granger, William T. Grant Foundation

Andy Hahn, Brandeis University

Sandy Jibrell, Annie E. Casey Foundation

Otis Johnson, Savannah State University

Ann Kubisch, Aspen Institute Roundtable on Comprehensive Community Initiatives

Sally Leiderman, Center for Assessment and Policy Development

Dorothy Meehan, Sierra Health Foundation

Maria Mohica, William Caspar Graustein Memorial Fund

Susan Notkin, Edna McConnell Clark Foundation

Lori Villarosa, Charles Stuart Mott Foundation

Heather Weiss, Harvard Family Research Project

Mike Weber, Volunteers of America of Minnesota

Garland Yates, Annie E. Casey Foundation

Jan B. Yost, Health Foundation of Central Massachusetts

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notes

[1] Unless otherwise noted, the comments in quotation marks without attribution are from the interviews conducted for this report. A list of key informants can be found on page 26. When comments are from written materials the source is noted.

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[5] Quoted in Hahn, A. *Doing Social Change for a Living.* Waltham, Mass.: Policylink and Brandeis University, August 2000, p. 101.

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[16] Gardner, S., et al. *The Case for a "Theory of Resources" as a Tool to Assist CCIs.* Fullerton, Calif.: Center for Collaboration for Children, California State University, 1997.

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